

Wilson's Surrender on Sea Freedom Won Great Britain to Our Support Upon Other Issues at Conference

Historic Meetings with London Statesmen on First Visit Broke Up So-Called Continental Alliance, and Brought England Over to America's Side at Crucial Time in Negotiations.

By JOHN L. BALDERSTON.
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What was President Wilson's part in framing the Peace of Paris? For months his followers and enemies at home and abroad have hailed him as a world savior and liberator, hailed at him as a mischievous menace to the universe.

I propose to state here, keeping as much as possible to facts as I know them and trying to show into the background personal opinions and prejudices, what Wilson has accomplished, where he has succeeded and where he has failed, what concessions he has won and what withdrawals he has been forced upon him.

Without the President, peace in any real sense would have been impossible.

Nobody, it seems to me, at all conversant with the conflicts in the allied camp can deny that statement. But whether it was Wilson or America, the man or the nation, to whom the credit should go, is a problem for history.

It may have been the idealism of a personal man, the man that overcame opposition and carried the Conference to agreement; it may have been the most powerful nation in the world, custodian of a controlling part of existing credit, food, and armed force, whose wishes as voiced through the spokesman of America could not be gainsaid. The statements made below as to what Wilson achieved may be taken in either sense.

My own view is that the truth lies in a combination of two: That Wilson the man could have done nothing had he come to the Conference from any other country than America, but that the United States would have failed to secure an approach to what Americans would regard as a just peace had she been represented by any other statesman than Woodrow Wilson.

Those major successes won by the President in Paris against opposition now from one source and now from another were these:

1. He succeeded in substituting for a projected alliance against Germany of the great powers who won the war a league of nations into which all countries, friendly and enemy, may ultimately be admitted, and in setting up machinery by which he believes wars in future will be made improbable, if not impossible. This, his greatest triumph, would have been impossible without the steadfast support of Great Britain.

2. He succeeded in forcing through the "mandate" project, whereby for annexation of semi-civilized or savage countries is substituted control by single powers under the supreme authority of the league.

3. He was instrumental in reconciling the most savage differences, that without him might have split the conference, between Poles, Rumanians, Czechs-Slovaks, and Jugos-Slavs, regarding their respective boundaries.

4. He resisted to the point of open rupture the Imperialist demands of Italy in the Adriatic, and at this writing it appears that he will carry this one major point that still remains to be settled, and that Fiume will be the great seaport of the new Slav nation.

5. In the Far East, it now appears, the President won a qualified victory, even though by secret agreements Britain, France and Italy had agreed to support Japanese claims at the Peace Conference. This success, one of the least talked about, is perhaps one of the most important to the credit of Wilson.

6. He placed this point in the list of Wilson's successes with reservations; it is perhaps not yet quite clear what Japan proposes to do.

7. Now to turn to the debt side of the ledger. What has Wilson had to give up, where has he had to withdraw or modify his desires?

8. In putting down the list that follows it must be said that perhaps, on some of these issues, the President changed his mind in the light of fuller information and gave ground because convinced; there is no way for me to separate those points upon which for political reasons the President was compelled to compromise from those upon which he altered his personal viewpoint during the negotiations.

9. He abandoned completely his doctrine of the "freedom of the seas."

10. By this surrender he won the support of suspicious, alarmed Britain to most of the rest of his program. I give below from personal observation and discussion the story of the "conversion" of Downing street, at the end of last December, to the President during the visit to London that was pregnant with the fate of the world.

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12. He modified very decidedly his views concerning the transfer of populations without their consent from one country to another in consenting to French control of the Saar coal regions.

13. He failed in his effort to force a Russian policy; though, since every other power that had a policy also failed, this point can hardly be counted against the President.

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A CRAZY MONK BUILT THIS

IT'S A CHURCH IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA.

IT WAS BUILT IN THE 16TH CENTURY.



Reports have it that the Russian Reds have no use for churches. Perhaps this fantastic structure is the reason. It was built by a mad monk at Moscow in the sixteenth century. Ivan, the Terrible, put out the eyes of the designer so he would never do another like it. There's a chapel under each dome and walls so thick the doorways are like tunnels, and the passages like richly frescoed catacombs.

change of mind, in London on the sea issue, was regarded by the British as a great victory. It implies, they believe, the virtual abandonment of the whole historic American position regarding the rights of neutral commerce in war time and the limitations of blockade.

Many versions circulated in informed London quarters of what President Wilson had said, what Lloyd George had replied, during their historic talk on December 27 that changed the course of history.

None of them are sufficiently plausible to be worth repeating. The main thing that did happen was that President Wilson gave up, dropped completely, his theory of the "freedom of the seas" as that doctrine was interpreted by some of his supporters on this side. Whether he offered Lloyd George a frank surrender on this issue in return for support on everything else, whether he explained that the "freedom of the seas" never meant what Britons thought it meant, I do not know.

President Wilson's surrender, or

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I made a superhuman effort to control myself. The tears stopped. I arose and announced to the guards:

"I am ready."

We were led out from the car, all of us in our undergarments. A few hundred feet away was the field of slaughter. There were hundreds upon hundreds of human bodies heaped there. As we approached the place, the figure of Pugatchov, marching about with a triumphant face, came into sight. He was in charge of the firing squad, composed of about one hundred men, some of whom were sailors, others soldiers, and others dressed as Red Guards.

Thousands of Corpses.

We were surrounded and taken toward a slight elevation of ground, and placed in a line with our backs toward the hill. There were corpses behind us, in front of us, to our left, to our right, at our very feet. There were at least a thousand of them. The scene was a horror of horrors. The poisonous odors were choking us. The executioners did not seem to mind it so much. They were used to them.

I was placed at the extreme right of the line. Next to me was the old General. There were twenty of us altogether.

"We are waiting for the committee," Pugatchov explained the delay in the proceedings.

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